

EST. 1940

# THE POLISH REVIEW

AND EAST EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

VOL. IX

MAY, 1949



BESSY, a portrait in oil by Bernard T. FRYDRYSIAK

# RUSSIAN DENIAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS TO LABOR

By SENATOR ROBERT A. TAFT, *Ohio*

THE Constitution of the United States guarantees certain basic rights to every American citizen. Among these are freedom of speech, religion, press and assembly; trial by jury; and protection against deprivation of life, liberty or property without due process of law. These Constitutional safeguards are rigidly enforced by our courts.

This is not so in Communist Russia, nor in the countries dominated by her behind the Iron Curtain. With regard to Russia's satellites, the recent deplorable arrest and trial of Cardinal Mindzenty of Hungary is an example. I protested to the State Department concerning this outrage against humanity, and later joined in introducing a resolution in the United States Senate to express that body's vigorous protest.

With regard to protection of human rights in Russia itself, it has been said that freedom of speech and religion, although regarded as fundamental in the United States, are purely coincidental in the Soviet Union. True, the Soviet Constitution contains a much-publicized bill of rights. But unlike the Constitution of the United States the Russian Constitution is not legally binding on the legislative and executive authorities of the Union. Its provisions can be amended or repealed by ordinary laws at any time. And from the practical point of view, whenever individual liberty conflicts with the program of the Communist Party, individual liberty yields.

The American laboring man, citizen of a nation founded on individual freedom, can take or refuse employment as he wishes. If he desires to shift from one livelihood to another, he can do so. It is largely this freedom of choice, plus the broad opportunities for advancement in his trade, that makes him the most productive worker in the world.

The Russian laborer, however, is and has been subject to Government decrees which would be called harsh and undemocratic by an American. Involuntary labor of various types permeates Russia's entire economic structure. It is performed by workers of all ages and degrees of skill, from the youthful apprentice to the experienced veteran. The legal basis for this can be found in the Soviet Constitution which specifies that work is an "obligation."

The Soviet network of labor reserve schools, whose express purpose is to provide vocational training for the country's youth, operates to a large extent by the conscription of young men and women (ages 14 to 19) and not on the basis of voluntary application. There are two types of schools: six-month factory training schools for unskilled workers, and two-year craft schools for skilled workers.

Whenever the number of volunteers for the schools falls below the quota, compulsory inductions are made. The law establishing the labor-reserve school system specifically authorizes the use of the draft. The trade

schools are the more attractive to Russian youth, 80 percent of the enrollees in trade schools during the July-August 1947 call-up being volunteers. The factory-training schools, however, lean much more heavily on the draft. The *Moscow Bolshevik* of February 14, 1947, enthusiastically proclaimed that more than one-third of the trainees during the last previous call-up had been volunteers. Thus the preponderant majority were drafted, and this does not count those who were forced to enlist due to social pressure.

Graduates of both the labor reserve schools and Soviet universities are compelled to work for a specified term at whatever job is assigned by the authorities. University and specialized school graduates must work at their specialty for at least three years. A labor reserve school graduate is conscripted for labor at a designated job for four years. And this may effectively block his shift to other work forever, since by the end of the four years he is at an age and has responsibilities which generally prevent the undertaking of studies to learn another trade.

Graduates of universities, specialized schools and labor reserve schools are not permitted to select the locality in which to begin their careers. The government decides that for them.

There are numerous restrictions on the free movement of Russian labor. Some were originated as war measures in 1940, but all remain in effect. Voluntary departure from state, cooperative and communal enterprises and institutions, and voluntary transfer from one enterprise or institution to another are forbidden. Penalty for unauthorized departures is imprisonment for a period of two to four months.

Absenteeism involves a maximum penalty of six months of corrective labor with a wage reduction up to 25 percent. Tardiness of only twenty minutes constitutes a punishable absence. And in the manufacture of military supplies, the punishment for wilful abandonment of a job is five to eight years in prison. All Russian transportation workers are subject to military discipline, and wilful absence of more than twenty-four hours entails imprisonment for five to ten years.

The Russian Government also has broad powers to force laborers to shift from employment at one enterprise or institution to another, regardless of the territorial shift involved. Add to this the severe housing shortage in Moscow and other cities, involving the requirement of special permits to live in certain areas, and you have an economy in which a worker knows nothing of the freedom of movement and choice which have been fundamental rights of the American workingman since the founding of the Republic.

It can be expected that this attitude and treatment of labor exists today in all Russian-dominated countries as well as in Russia itself. The effects on the individual worker, his family, society and government can only be

*Please turn to page 11*

# THE POLISH RIGHT TO AN AMERICAN WELCOME

By RUPERT HUGHES

FOR MANY years now the only foreigners who have found it easy to get into the United States have been Russian spies and Communist missionaries. We have given them the keys to the cities, and liberty to go everywhere, and settle anywhere, especially in our State Department.

That may be why the State Department has made it so hard for anti-Communists and the victims of Communists to get into this land of the free lunch and the home of the Slav.

It has been made especially hard of late years for Poles to get past the Statue of Liberty. A President of the United States went all the way to Yalta to make dear Uncle Joe a present of Poland. When the Russians moved in and put the Red puppets in power, the United States recognized them as Poles! Another American president flew all the way to Potsdam and confirmed the gift of Poland to her ancient enemy—on one condition: that Russia would guarantee free elections! Uncle Joe gave his promise, and all was fine. Uncle Joe will promise anybody anything. But keeping the promise—don't make me laugh.

If you can imagine a Communist guaranteeing a free election to anybody, you can imagine a man from the hot Fiji Islands guaranteeing to build an igloo for the Eskimos. The Russians wouldn't know a free election if they saw one, and they never will see one as long as Communists commune.

If a Russian were offered a secret ballot he would ask, "What's the matter with the thing? It doesn't tell me what to do?" When you told him, he would drop dead with fear of having a choice.

We Americans did our best to see that the glorious republic of Poland was turned into a horrible burlesque by a set of Russian stooges called the Lublin group. We even gave our consent to giving a vote and a seat in the United Nations to a delegate from Poland. Poland! It is like saying that the President of the United States is Hon. Joseph Stalin.

The Russians killed hundreds of thousands of Poles. They have millions of Poles being starved or kicked to death in their slave-camps. Many thousands of Poles escaped with their lives—and nothing else—and got away from the Russian terror. Now Uncle Joe would like to have them come home again, so that he can give them light work in Siberia—and still lighter food and clothing. He would especially like to have us send back the 150,000 Poles who were left alive after helping our armies in Italy.

Uncle Joe would like to shoot all of them or enslave

them—and all other Poles who loved Poland and hate Communism—as all lovers of true freedom must.

The Ambassador to Poland, Arthur Bliss Lane, called what we did to these glorious people "The Betrayal of Poland." So do I. We cannot give back to the true Poles their beloved homeland. But we can give a home here to the survivors of one of the most hideous tragedies and trickeries in history.

And the Poles have a right to a refuge here—an ancient and honorable right.

All Americans know of Captain John Smith and how he founded our first colony in Virginia. All Americans know how Pocahontas saved him from being beaten to death by the Indian Joe Stalin of his time.

But very few Americans know that Captain Smith had four Poles with him. There were Poles in Virginia twenty years before there were Pilgrims or Puritans in New England.

In our Revolutionary War the Polish Pulauski organized the first cavalry our army ever had—and paid for it himself—and died of battle wounds later in South Carolina. Another Pole, Kosciuszko, by his military engineering genius, helped win the vital battle of Saratoga, which brought France to our aid.

In World War I the Polish Legion fought as our Allies when the Russian army was breaking up and abandoning us. In World War II Polish aviators helped save England by their magnificent work with the R.A.F. In Italy the Poles took Monte Cassino after our troops and the British were repulsed.

Think of it! If those heroes went back to their homeland, they would be shot or enslaved! All Poland is a slave-camp.

It is inhuman to deny them a welcome here. And the Poles always pay for their board and keep. They make the most industrious and ingenious citizens. There never was a more liberty-loving people. Before America was discovered, the motto of the Polish people was "For My Freedom and For Yours!"

It is our duty, it should be our pleasure, as it will be our honor, to fling wide the gates—and our arms and welcome the Poles to a new home here. We have made it easy for Poles to die for our country, why make it so hard to live here? We have a sacred obligation not only to them, but to ourselves and the country we love as they love theirs.

Otherwise we may as well put out the torch of the Statue of Liberty and take her down from where she stands facing the sea that stood between our ancestors and freedom.

# OUT OF STALIN'S CZARDOM

BOOKS in Poland are so expensive that they are not a feature of the average Polish worker's budget. But a new organization called the Committee for Book Circulation has recently been created by the regime to remedy the situation. It publishes hundreds of thousands of books a month, for which it receives "voluntary" subscriptions. The truth is that party agencies in the various localities and even postmen are tools used to compel these "voluntary" orders to come in. The price of one of these books is very low, 100 zlotys a volume, which is the current price of a package of Polish-produced cigarettes. This literature is Communist, with just enough genuine Polish classical titles among the mass of "educational" material to serve as camouflage.

Polish women are being forced to take an active part in the sovietization of their country. Three years ago a Marxist Women's League was organized, which is now reported to have a million members. To what extent the women have been drawn into this destructive-of-Poland organization may be judged from the fact that it now has 16,108 branches, 8,000 reading-rooms. The official purpose of the League is "To fight for a full people's democracy in Poland, to extricate the broad masses of Polish women from age-old backwardness." But the Communists have openly stated that their ideological goal is "To draw woman into the social struggle in Poland, to assure the education by women of the younger generation in Marxism, and the inculcation of friendship toward the Soviet Union."

The libraries consist of literature on the methods of fighting American capitalism, well-to-do peasants, and the "reactionary clergy." This past year the League was responsible for 32,000 lectures and over 5,600 demonstrations, for whom and against whom it is not difficult to surmise. Through the women the Moscow-directed puppets hope to penetrate all areas of Polish life, particularly social and religious. But while the statistics may seem impressive, the reality of the achievement is doubtful. The terror tactics used have compelled external compliance but conversion to Communism does not of necessity follow.

Polish cities are still having to send delegations to Russian generals to thank them for "liberation." Recently Gdynia and Danzig had to humiliate themselves by having a delegation received in their names by Marshal Rokossowsky—a delegation bearing a document making him an honorary citizen of these two cities, and masterpieces of carved amber, for which the Baltic coast has for centuries been famous.

Stettin is to have a monument of gratitude to the Red Army. Why so late is not explained. Most cities "liberated" by that army erected such an expression of gratitude immediately. The Stettin statue is to stand on Polish Soldier Square, and working with the committee to choose the best project submitted will be an officer of Rokossowsky's staff.

Poland is terribly in need of railroad rolling stock but the regime has found that the Soviet Union needs coal cars and is supplying that country 1,000 from Polish

shops. The Polish people have been assured that in return for this Poland will receive a certain number of trucks and tractors from Russia.

Mass removal of populations has become as characteristic of the Polish puppet regime as of the Moscow government. It is an excellent way of carrying out the collectivization program, for when transplanting on that scale occurs individual families, much less individuals, have no voice at all in what goes on. The regime has decided that people are to be removed from lands in the Krakow, Rzeszow, and Kielce districts 1) if the town-ship lands are judged to require certain regulation, 2) if areas are marked for reforestation, 3) if villages and communities are regarded as suitable for public use or for location of state industries. From all such territories the population will be removed and re-settled in the western lands. This means the uprooting of some 25,000 families, roughly 100,000 persons.

The regime has apparently begun an all-out attack on the Catholic Church. The increasing number of arrests of priests and members of religious orders, the great publicity given the trials and the scurrilous attacks, the refusal to permit the Catholic press to defend the attacked—the continually worsening situation, caused the bishops to ask the regime for negotiations that a settlement might be reached whereby amicable relations would be restored. The regime's spokesman replied with an 8-point statement made up of accusations and threats. The bishops have stood their ground, and in addition have called upon Catholics not to read the falsities of the regime publications. The Polish nation, being overwhelmingly Catholic, can be expected to support the clergy and the regime well knows that if it attempts to carry persecution of the Church too far it will have a struggle that will make all others it has undertaken pale into insignificance.

A huge building designed to be the central headquarters for the three regime-controlled youth associations is being erected on one of the most prominent spots in Warsaw—the area between Koszykowa, Mokotowska, and Ujazdowska. Those organizations are Union of Polish Youth, resulting from the forced merger of the many hundred thousands membership of the youth political organizations; the Polish Academic Union, students of all the universities and institutions of higher learning; and the Scouts, who have passed into Communist control.

A letter from Poland, appearing in a London Polish paper, is informative. It says: "I have received your package . . . You say it is a modest gift, but for me it is of great value, for I have nothing, not even a change of underwear. Our 'friends' made haste to gather up everything they got from UNRRA for themselves . . . We know that for us 'English fascists' there is nothing except prison . . . We lack food, clothing; everything disappears before our eyes. We have no candles, no kerosene, no salt . . ."

Anti-American demonstrations were held throughout Poland from the first to the fifteenth of March on the

orders of the Moscow government. There were assemblies with speakers agitating against "imperialist America" and "Wall Street greed," parades, and the shout that had to go up on each of these occasions—"Down with the warmongers!" The purpose—to persuade the Polish people that wicked America was ready any hour to attack peace-loving Russia, their great friend and ally. Members of the secret police were busy taking note of the reaction of the Poles, and it is reported that persons who did not respond as desired will be under suspicion and certain to be arrested if a new wave of terror is loosed.

The so-called Polish press carries columns these days urging economy. The workers are told how they can save for the state if they will not idle, if they will not absent themselves from work, if they will do this and that and the other. Economy, the regime declares, must be achieved. On the other hand, new ministries are named, new departments created, new special commissions. The bureaucracy is continually on the increase, and the salaries and the privileges these people receive put an immense burden upon the national and municipal budgets. Deeper and deeper the worker and the peasant sink into serfdom while the masters live in ease, even luxury.

A network of retail stores is to be set up over the whole of Poland. Heretofore there have been a number of State Trading Stores, large establishments only engaging in wholesale trade. Now every district in every town in Poland is to have its own state-owned stores, ranging from department stores to the corner grocery type. Where the state does not set up shop the cooperatives will, in fact they are to operate more than the state. However, it is all one and the same thing, as the regime controls the cooperatives, a word, it should be

## WORTHY OF NOTE

HIDDEN away in an inconspicuous place in a recent issue of The New York Times was a short article entitled "Prosecutor of Nazis Spurns Polish Honor." Attorney Thomas J. Dodd, war crimes prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials, had been invited to call at the Polish puppets' embassy in Washington on May 2 when he would be given the Officer's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta.

Mr. Dodd declined the invitation, explaining in his letter to Mr. Winiewicz that acceptance of "any honor at the hands of your Government" would "debase" the Nuremberg principle of "peace by law under justice." And he went on to say that "we believed that the Polish people, having passed through this terrible ordeal, would have an opportunity to rebuild and to establish freedom under God and through a Government of their own choosing. The Government which you represent as Ambassador to the United States has denied the Polish people that opportunity."

The Polish puppets have been distributing decorations right and left, especially to Soviet citizens, but Americans

remembered, that has nothing in common with the term as we use it.

Parent committees have been one of the greatest obstacles in the way of communizing the schools. Therefore, these committees have to be re-organized or "reformed," to quote the regime. The "reform" is to be put through on the grounds of weeding out the reactionary and capitalistic elements. Which being interpreted, means that anybody who has any property or who believes in private enterprise or defends the Church and the clergy will be dropped.

Individuals are no longer permitted to buy a radio in Poland. The reason, according to the authorities, is that such equipment is needed by the network centrals or "social" institutions. The real reason is that every effort is being made to eliminate the individual radio and get everybody on the loudspeaker network of the locality or the apartment, if he is in a city, where he lives. A regime-appointed controller has charge of the "central" of the network, which means that he selects all the material broadcast over his network, and that he is free to choose only Polish broadcasts, Soviet broadcasts, or specially recommended material from the satellite radios. No other foreign broadcasts are allowed.

The meats promised Poland for Easter did not materialize, according to word that has reached London. The tinned ham did not appear at all, and ham of any kind was very hard to find, and when it was found the price paid was outrageous. Butter was scarce, the price jumping to 800 zlotys a kilogram, several days wages' equivalent. The promised fruit did not appear, or what little there was appeared on the black market. Poultry, much sought since there was no meat, was sold out early, and at high prices. The boastful promises of the regime press for a plentiful Easter market fell far short of fulfillment.

have also been among the recipients. This is the first instance that has come to our notice of refusal by an American to accept. Mr. Dodd's forthright action and his unambiguous explanation of his refusal are heartening indeed. It is to be hoped that he has set the pattern for the future when "honors" are proffered Americans by Soviet-manipulated puppets.

**Poland, Germany—A Lasting Peace?** is the title of a pamphlet, now out in a second edition, by Rev. Dr. A. J. Krzesinski, originally presented as a Memorandum to the Council of Foreign Ministers in London in 1947. The seven chapters trace in brief the course of Western appeasement policy, present the historical argument for Polish rights to territory east of the Oder and Neisse Rivers, bring up the Lusatian rights, and call attention of the West to the importance of a strong Poland if there is to be world peace. In conclusion the author makes a plea for justice in international relations, which would naturally include justice in the matter of Polish boundaries.

# WHAT THE PEOPLE OF POLA ND LEARN FROM THE PRESS

WITH THE exception of highly censored Catholic papers and publications all newspapers and periodicals in Poland are government-owned or party-owned and in either case party-directed and controlled. Restrictions hedge the Catholic publications. They may not, for example, defend an accused priest or member of a religious order who is on trial. Their newsprint supply is far too small. They must keep clear of political subjects, and so on.

By taking one of the regime dailies and noting its headlines one may get an idea of what the fare these papers offer. *Trybuna Robotnicza* (The Worker's Tribune) is the press organ, so its masthead says, of the United Workers Party—the name taken by the merged Communist and fake Socialist parties—for the southern part of Poland. It consists of four pages and now costs three zlotys, reduced from five only a week or so ago.

It's April 7th issue carries these headlines over its foreign news:

"World Federation of Trade Unions Votes to Participate in Peace Congress (Paris)."

"Incomprehensible Action of French Government" in the matter of limiting the number of Polish delegates to that congress. "USA Sanctions Hitler's Acts of Violence. The Government of the Republic of Poland Demands Return of Polish Property in Germany." That is the leading article of the day, making a great to-do of the call made by the puppets' ambassador Winiewicz in Washington on our State Department to demand the return of property in the American zone of German occupation that had belonged to Poles resident there before 1939. The United States is made to appear the bandit heir of Hitler and his gang.

News from England has this head, "Growth of Unemployment in England—Result of Limiting Trade with Eastern Europe." From Greece, "General Strike of All State Employees in Greece" and "Victorious Offensive of Greek Democratic (Communist) Army," with another article in the same paper headed "Victory of the Democratic Greek Army—Fascist Army Surrounded."

Italy gets space for a part of a column under the title, "Communist Party in Italy Calls for Renewed Watchfulness." Bulgaria is allotted about as much under the caption, "News of Communist Discussions in Bulgaria — Implacable Fight Against Nationalist Tendencies." And the Polish reader learns that the "Popular Front in Hungary Calls for New Elections."

The Soviet Union is represented by a lengthy report under bold headlines of the 11th Komsomol convention—"Rearing of Youth in the Spirit of Soviet Patriotism and Proletarian Internationalism." The Komsomol, the Soviet youth organization that is a feeder for the Communist party, is declared responsible for the education of youth. The head of the United Polish Youth organization, General Zarzycki, was one of the Polish delegates to that convention, and in his report of the affair he declares that the instructions given the Soviet youth organization should be binding for youth the world over.

The opening session of the United Nations at Lake

Success gets a mild notice.

On an inside page of the paper the daily attack on the Atlantic Treaty occupies a four-column spread, with the screaming title, "Nations of World Fight" running across the four-column space, sub-titled "In defense of Peace Against the Atlantic Conspiracy." That is the introduction to a glowing account of the gathering of the delegates in Paris for the great "Peace Conference," delegates representing, according to the pseudo-Polish reporter, 550,000,000 people. The reader learns that the American people are solidly for it; and so, say the accompanying dispatches from Italy, Czechoslovakia, Germany, and London, are the peoples of these lands.

That is all the foreign news the Poles can get from the press called Polish.

Now for the home news.

At the Warsaw State Theatre the Soviet play "Wielkie dni" (Great Days), the story in dramatic form of the battle of Stalingrad, is being played by a Moscow troupe, the role of Stalin taken by Swierkin, a winner of the Stalin literary award. "Present at the performance, which was a great event in the capital's cultural life, were Pres. Bierut, Marshal of the Sejm Kowalski, Marshal Zymierski, members of the cabinet, headed by Premier Cyrankiewicz and . . . members of the diplomatic corps, led by the dean of the Soviet embassy, Lebediev."

And here's something that certainly strikes home. "Plans for Increased Participation of Women in Work Competition, Labor Day Celebration, and in the Peace Congress—More Meters of Textile Goods—More Tons of Cement—More Tons of Artificial Fertilizer—May 1st Action of Working Class." A whole series of sub-heads follows, after which we have the body of the article which consists of passages similar to these:

"In the factory 'Lenko' the weaver Jadwiga Tomiczek, who to date has completed 115% of the quota fixed, has obligated herself to make her April achievement 120% . . . In the General Swierczewski Clothing Factory in Bytom, Upper Silesia, Matylda Greb has promised to make 125% of her norm in April instead of the 120% she has now reached . . . The boys and girls of 'Service for Poland' have also joined in the May 1st action, among other things, in Zabrze they will construct six kilometers of highway, remove 2,030 cubic meters of rubble, and prepare ground for the erection of workers' homes."

It should be explained here that the authorities have set May 1st, the great Socialist holiday and therefore taken over by the Communists, as the date for the ending of a vast, intensive drive for increased production in every area of Poland's economic life and for "education" of the people by volunteers in the "new" doctrines.

While the press is filled with appeal after appeal for over-fulfillment of assigned quotas in every industry and on the farms, and individual promises are played up, in an out-of-the-way corner of one paper there is an illuminating bit of information on the prospect of such fulfillment. It reports that the "Kleofas" mine, in the Katowice district, has for three months past not turned out its production quota and that there is no assurance

that it will make the 100% this present month (April). Yet, the report goes on to say, this mine formerly led the production in this area.

Here's another group of Soviet visitors, "Soviet Collective Farmers Visit Polish Villages—Warmly Welcomed by the Polish People." Previously a group of Polish peasants had been sent by the Polish regime at Moscow's orders to visit collectives in the Soviet Ukraine. On their return the press made it appear that they were delighted with everything they saw and heard. Unofficial reports strike a very different tone.

Part of page two of our newspaper and three-quarters of page three are devoted to reports of the III Convention of the Peasant Self-Help Association. From one of these reports come these summarizing passages: "The convention approved a number of resolutions on economic and cultural-educational matters, after which the president . . . spoke on 'Directives for cooperation between the cooperatives and the Self-Help Association' . . . The first resolution approved full support of the government's statement on the Church by the peasant masses. The second, concerning international relations and the fight for peace, was received with long applause and long chanting by the entire assembly of 'We want peace.' . . . The secretary read the note of thanks to be sent to the Polish and Soviet Governments for making possible the closer acquaintance of Polish and Soviet peasants. The speech of Maria Savchenko, one of the Soviet delegates to the convention, was greeted with long-continuing applause."

Her speech was given in full in bold type as an inset in the press report: "I am a member of the Red Dawn collective farm . . . I have worked as a milkmaid for 13 years . . . During the last four years I have milked 164,000 liters of milk and made 8 tons of butter, for which I have received from the highest authorities the title of Heroine of Socialist Labor . . . In the Soviet Ukraine there are hundreds of thousands like me." Perhaps the Ukrainians in exile would give another figure.

One of the speakers impressed upon his hearers the necessity of class warfare. The fact that he is an official indicates one tool the puppets are to use in enforcing collectivization, which this paragraph, taken from a resolution accepted, shows is to be part of the Self-Help Association's task. "The convention sees in the production cooperative (camouflage for collective) the most perfect means toward abolition of rural poverty and economic and cultural backwardness, along with class exploitation, and welcomes the production cooperative and the state farms as the forerunners of Socialist rural establishments."

The organization and administration of these "production cooperatives," outlined in detail by another official, is given in the press report. Thus every Pole is explicitly informed of what is in store for rural Poland—collectivization on the Soviet pattern.



"In connection with the trial of twelve Communist leaders in the U.S.A. ON THE BENCH OF THE ACCUSED"

(The chief defendant is the Statue of Liberty in chains)

from "Szpilki" (Pins), a Warsaw weekly of January 30, 1949.

The editors of *The Polish Review* reproduce this shameful caricature to give the American public a vivid illustration of the cultural level of the present regime in Poland.

There are two more articles devoted to Soviet activity on Polish soil. One is a laudatory editorial reprinted from *Trybuna Ludu*, the chief party organ, on the "Alliance of Polish and Soviet Peasants," resulting from the visit of the Soviet collective farmers. The other is a brief notice, but not unimportant. Under "Calls at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs," the only one that day was made by the Soviet Ambassador.

The editorial for the day comes under the head of foreign news, perhaps, for it is captioned "The End of the Noisy Masquerade" and is an attempt to reduce the Kravchenko libel suit against *Les Lettres Francaises* to a ridiculous farce. Here is one of the closing sentences that will illustrate the effort to blacken the United States on every possible occasion: "However, so great is the pressure of the USA on the whole government apparatus, including the judiciary, in France that on orders from above the French court imposed a fine on *Les Lettres Francaises* . . . That the comedy closed practically

Please turn to page 9

# POLAND'S FUTURE BOUNDARIES

By PAUL SUPER

In view of the possibility that Poland's western boundary may be again a subject of international conversation, it is appropriate at this time to reprint Paul Super's concise treatment of that matter as one best setting forth the Polish position.

THE OBJECT of this outline is to sketch a point of view; not to develop it in detail nor to present the great mass of geographical, historical, economic, political, and ethnographical argument that can be marshaled in its support. It presents the case; it does not argue it. The solid considerations which undergird this outlined presentation of the problem of Poland's future boundaries must later be given in full, but such an elaboration of the case for this proposal is a matter for a whole series of articles, taking the chief points up one at a time, or for a pamphlet of many pages. Meanwhile, here is a sound plan in its main outlines.

A definition of two of the terms in the title of this outline will be helpful.

1. By "Poland" I mean not the present puppet satellite of the USSR, soon, possibly, to be incorporated into the Russian array of states, but the free and independent Poland which is some day to arise.

2. "Future." The Poland which will come into existence when Russia has been forced back within its own proper boundaries, which so far as Poland is concerned, means the Polish-Russian boundary of August 1939.

To award to Poland as a part of its permanent territories the land between the former western frontier of Poland and the present Oder-Neisse line, would, obviously, play into the hands of Russia for a while. But two things need to be said. First, these areas are already in Russian possession and there is no visible thing we can do about it, short of war; and second, in our long-term planning for Europe our thoughts must overleap these present evil days of Russian power and imperialist expansion, and envisage and plan for the decent time of freedom and peace which is sure to be the not too distant outcome of present events and tendencies, the reign of justice in Europe.

One more point before we plunge into our presentation. It would be a tragic mistake for us to think of this as a purely Polish problem. It is in terrible truth a world problem, for we Americans are the world's greatest power, political, economic, military. There is no great issue from which we can withdraw ourselves.

## I. WESTERN BOUNDARY

*The Oder and the Neisse Rivers, including the city of Stettin on the north.*

1. The present legal status.
  - a. Under the technical administration of Poland.

- b. Basis of that status. The decision of Stalin, Truman, and Attlee at Potsdam, Germany, July 17-28, 1945.

2. The present boundary line between Poland and Germany.

A line running south from just west of Swinemunde on the Baltic Sea, including Stettin, thence along the Oder River south to where the Neisse River flows into the Oder, on south along the Neisse River to the Czechoslovak border near Zittau.

3. The length of the line.

This gives Poland a 300 mile common frontier with Germany as compared with the fatally long line of August 1939 of 1263 miles.
4. The size of this addition to pre-war Poland. A strip of land about 130 miles wide east and west at Stettin, 50 miles east and west at Frankfurt on Oder, and 75 miles wide on a northeast line near Hirschberg. A Polish coastline on the Baltic Sea 285 miles in length from Stettin to Danzig.

The area of the territory is roughly 39,120 square miles, about 8 percent larger than Indiana.

This added to Poland's pre-war area of 151,000 square miles gives the Poland I am discussing an area of 190,000 square miles, a sizeable keystone for the Eastern European Federation of the future.

5. The population of the area.
  - a. Before the war the population of this area was roughly 8,200,000, of which about 1,500,000 were Poles.
  - b. By spring of 1945, after the Russian advance, millions of these people had fled west, leaving about 2,500,000 Germans and 1,000,000 Poles there.
  - c. The Germans continued to move or to be moved west and Poles continued to be moved in until today the population numbers about 5,250,000 Poles and about 40,000 Germans.
6. Justification for assigning this area permanently to Poland.
  - a. That would be just a recognition of an existing fact.
  - b. It would weaken Germany's future power to make war.
  - c. It would partly compensate the Poles for the horrors and losses inflicted upon them by the Germans.
  - d. It would strengthen Poland as the central power in a future Eastern European Federation of 120,000,000 people, a powerful unit between Germany and Russia, and the basis of peace in Europe.
  - e. Stettin is the natural outlet for the whole western-

Poland economy.

- f. Historically all this area was Slavic, belonging to Polish tribes and tribes related to them.

## II. EASTERN BOUNDARY

1. Where. The August 1939 boundary between Poland and Russia, accepted by Russia in the Treaty of Riga, March 18, 1921. This returns to Poland Wilno and Lwow and Poland's eastern provinces taken by force by Russia in the autumn of 1939. The Oriental hordes planted in these provinces by the USSR would be sent back to where they came from.
2. Why.
  - a. Because Poland is historically and morally entitled to these provinces.
  - b. Because this would weaken Russia in its penetration into Europe and also reduce its total power, which would be in the interest of world peace and the Christian religion.
  - c. Because it would partly compensate Poland for the vast harm done Poland and the Poles since September 1939.

## WHAT PEOPLE OF POLAND LEARN FROM THE PRESS

*Continued from page 7*

at the same time the Atlantic Treaty was signed was no coincidence."

There is a page of local propaganda, a few ads of things for sale or for help wanted, and the 17th installment of Annabella Bucar's book, "*The Truth About American Diplomats*." American readers are surely familiar with the facts about this one-time American employee of the American embassy in Moscow, who married a Russian and renounced her American citizenship and now takes dictation from the Bolsheviks.

The contents of this number of the *Workers' Tribune* are typical of the fare handed out to the people of Poland by the daily press. In running through four or five different publications for the month of March and the first week in April, one finds the attack on the Atlantic Treaty occupying the chief place in practically every issue. America is unquestionably enemy No. 1, and is the subject of vicious attacks even when the article appears to give no opportunity for bringing the United States into the discussion.

A page-long article in the literary weekly *Odrodzenie* is entitled "*Cosmopolitanism in Art*." But here is a bit out of the concluding paragraphs: "Americans, Hitler's successors in the ambition to be conquerors of the world along with the whole Hitler inheritance, have accepted the theory of the superman; hence Americans cannot accord Negroes equal rights—that would be giving up the idea of ruling the world. Praise of the wonders of American civilization is the struggle of the right of superiority over all other nations who believe

## III. NORTHERN BOUNDARY

1. The Baltic Sea from Swinemunde to a little east of Konigsberg, giving to Poland all of East Prussia except that part properly belonging to Lithuania. There are now no Germans in that area.
2. Lithuania as restored.
3. Latvia as restored.

## IV. SOUTHERN BOUNDARY

1. The Czechoslovakia line as far as Romania.
2. The northern line of restored Romania.

This article is only a sketch, an outline of the problem. Thus far this matter has not been presented at all adequately to the American public. But it now begins to be a matter of importance; specific objectives need to be clearly presented, and then the arguments supporting them developed in full.

*Note. This outline may be reproduced by other publications if proper credit is given THE POLISH REVIEW.*

in those wonders. And so the acknowledgment of the perfection of American civilization is to put the yoke on one's neck."

Looking at random through the column "24 hours of the World" in a number of issues of *Express Wieczorny* (Evening Express), one finds "The American Educational Association has published a report stating that there are over 2,000,000 children in the United States that are homeless, do not attend school, and are utterly uncared for."

And this: "In New York preparations have been completed for taking 300 German and Japanese students to the United States for a year's study at the cost of the American Army of Occupation Boards of Germany and Japan. It is announced that membership in the Hitler party will not disqualify candidates."

Nor are the farmers forgotten: "The National Council of the American Farmers' Association, numbering 700,000 members, has condemned the North Atlantic Pact. The Council declared that the American government's meddling in foreign politics creates serious anxiety. Declaring against the pact, the Council in especially sharp terms condemns the intention of arming Western Europe."

This could be continued indefinitely but one more quotation will suffice. "General Eisenhower has returned to the political arena," runs the information under the head "Politicians under the skin." "The American press recalls the fact that Eisenhower owes his career to the Rockefeller oil trust, with which the General has been closely associated ever since 1932."

Such is the "news" as the Polish people get it from the only press permitted them.

# THE · POLISH WORKER TODAY

## What the Worker Earns

IF EMPLOYED in one of the state-owned factories the worker in Poland may earn as much as 10,000 zlotys a month if he produces the daily quota fixed for his kind of labor; he may get more than the 10,000, although no large amount, if he exceeds the quota. If he is a miner, he is best paid of all Polish workers. From an article in one of the regime newspapers discussing coal production comes this phrase, "... a coal miner's wage, say 576 zlotys for fulfilling the day's production quota ..." The miner's wages for the month would then be 13,824 zlotys, with the possibility of increasing his pay by exceeding the fixed amount of coal mined. If the worker belongs to the white-collar class, he falls within the 8,000-10,000 zlotys range; if a teacher he may drop below that level, for teachers have been receiving 6,000 zlotys.

## The Food He Buys

One looks in vain for advertisements of food in the regime press. The only one this writer found in searching scores of papers for the months of March and April 1949 was "Dorsze (cod) in amounts from 50 kilograms (2.2 lbs. to the kilo) at 95 zl. a klg." This was a Katowice ad intended for managers of factory and institution dining-rooms. A Warsaw paper reporting on the fish supply says cod is in the market, 150 zl. a kilo. The March price of bread appears in a news note about new flour mixtures, a kilogram costing from 44-57 zlotys. If a family uses one loaf a day at the 50 zloty price, 1,500 zlotys of the monthly wage must go for that article alone.

The extent of the meat shortage is indicated by an April 4th headline in *Express Wieczorny* (Evening Express), a Warsaw paper. "Great Shipments on the Way—Meat for Easter for the People of Warsaw—To Be Sold in 1 kg. 20 dek. Quantities—" Reading the article we find, "Employees of state, local government, and social institutions will buy on Fridays and Saturdays, the rest of the population on Mondays and Thursdays ..." And only those employees who are registered by their offices and institutions and then confirmed by the Communist-controlled Trade Unions Council will have their names put on lists and given to the stores where they must go to buy. This paper says that Warsaw would get 521 tons of meat and fats; another states that to meet Warsaw's weekly meat requirements 650 tons of meat, exclusive of fats, are needed. Note that prices are not given and that the people first provided for are those working with the regime. If the worker is not in that category, his chances for getting Easter meat were not very great.

Another headline: "Promise of Opening New Stores that will do away with queues and running all over the market with your basket." And this: "Tomatoes are Ripening—and before Easter will be in the stores. Cucumbers are here but dear." Prices of such items: head of lettuce 50-75 zl., bunch of radishes 150 zl., rhubarb 400 zl. a kilo. But here is an article that is part of the daily diet of the worker, pota-

toes, not new but old, at 14 zl. a kilo (2.2 lbs.). Butter and eggs are cheaper, reports a March 26 paper. Eggs were then costing 17, 18 zl. a piece, butter 650-700 zl. a kilo. A chicken sold for 500-1,000 zl., a goose for 1,500-2,500, a duck for 600-1,400. These are prices in the state-operated stores, which by no means are well supplied with even the necessities. What the prices on the open market one does not learn from the press. They are always much higher than the government-fixed prices.

If food prepared at home costs so much that the worker can afford only the cheapest and most necessary, what about eating at restaurants and factory dining-rooms? At the latter a dinner will cost him 100 zl., at a restaurant several hundred. But the State Trading House on the 23rd of March opened what the press terms a "people's inn and coffee-house," serving 1,500 "club and popular dinners" a day. The price of the "club" meal is 135, of the "popular" meal is 70 zl. What that is the write-up does not say but on another day a reporter who has made the rounds of the restaurants complains of the quality of the "popular dinners," but not of the menu, which consisted of a vegetable soup and beans in one place and potato soup and potato dumplings in another. "Certainly," he says, "such a menu did not cost the owner more than 35 or 40 zl." He does not report the charge for such a "meal." That gives one an idea of what is meant by "popular dinner" at the State Stores' operated restaurant. But how satisfying would such a meal be to a worker even could he afford it?

## Wages and Clothing Prices

Leather shoes for men, according to a March 11th paper, cost 15,000 zl., but that is the cheapest quality. Women's cost from 10,000-14,000, children's from 7,000-9,500. For better quality considerably more must be paid. Half-soles cost 1,700 zl. at the cooperative workshops, 4,500 at the independent shoemaker's. Rubber soles are popular as they cost less. From the above figures it is clear that the worker's family cannot afford leather footwear, as a whole month's wages of even a highly skilled worker are required for the purchase of one pair.

A suit of men's clothes is reported in this same article to cost from 11,000-27,000 zl. at the State Trading Stores. But purchasers complain of the quality of the material and workmanship. If one goes to a tailor, as in the old days, he pays from 6,400-15,000 for the making alone. The worker must get his clothes readymade; but he will not buy many suits at even the lowest price, since one suit, like one pair of shoes, swallows more than a month's earnings. And then there are his wife and children to be clothed, with the prices of their dresses comparable to the cost of his suits.

## Necessary Extras

The worker must get back and forth between home and work. If he uses the street cars, that costs him 20 zl. a day, if he does not go home for lunch. His family also must use some means of transportation occasionally. He must read some newspaper, if he wants to keep in

the good graces of the regime. That means 5 zl. a day. He must have a loudspeaker on a network if he is in a locality or an apartment where such a network operates; and that means more zlotys. When the call is made for subscriptions to a national loan for rebuilding Warsaw or some other national or municipal enterprise, he has part of his wages taken as a "voluntary" subscription. He must pay taxes, that grow heavier rather than lighter as the "paradise of the worker" is brought into being in Poland. He must likewise contribute of his own "free will" to funds to aid the "democratic Greek movement," and the "Spanish Republicans" and other "liberation" groups in their time.

## Recreation

If the Polish worker goes to the movies, he pays 75 zl. for the cheapest seat in the house. He certainly would not get the 105 zl. places. Prices are the same in all the movie houses in the city, since they are all state-owned and managed. As for the theatre, that is out of the question for the average wage-earner unless he has some particular piece of luck, for theatre tickets are much higher.

What does the movie-goer see? In the Warsaw papers of early April the movie programs included one Soviet

picture, one Czech, one English, and four Polish. The Polish are all recently made films, complying with the regime's cultural directive. The English is "The Renegade," a film based on the life of Ramsay MacDonald, the story of his "treason" to Socialism. Under the present circumstances only a film of this character from Britain would be acceptable in Poland.

Suppose our worker is fortunate enough to have money for a theatre ticket. He is able to see nothing either British or American, but he can choose between two Soviet plays and several modern Polish. In which case the Polish worker is more than likely to regard such shows, whether film or legitimate stage, not as recreation but as propaganda.

Housing has not been taken into consideration in this brief treatment of the worker and his wages for the reason that the situation is still chaotic with the rent the largest item in the worker's budget. Residential building has had to wait until government and Communist party buildings and offices were provided and housing of officials and the faithful naturally preceded that of the working people. A vast building program to take care of the masses has been proclaimed and declared begun. Meanwhile the crowded, ill-housed millions wait.

## RUSSIAN DENIAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS TO LABOR

*Continued from page 2*

speculated on. But a denial of freedom, such as the foregoing laws entail, certainly is bound to have a direct effect in lowered efficiency of the worker. A happy worker is the most efficient worker, and preventing a man from working in the occupation he wants, or the locality he prefers, will result in an unhappy worker and a restless society.

We could expect a much more restless society—and perhaps an effect on the oppressive government itself—if the great Russian masses had an opportunity to compare their plight with the freedom enjoyed by laborers in the democracies of the world. But many Russians know of no life better than their present lot—and the members of the Politburo are careful to see that they find out as little about life outside the Iron Curtain as possible. However, in those newly-acquired satellite nations where the workers have known a freer day, there may be hope for an eventual change.

The institution of slave labor—a practice which violates every principle of individual freedom—is well established in Russia. Naturally the Soviets publish no figures showing the extent to which they engage in this criminal behavior, but well-authenticated estimates state that the number of people in Russia who are employed under

police discipline and receive only miserable food and shelter for their labor is between ten and fifteen million.

We need not concern ourselves with the effect of this labor, costing next to nothing, on the free international market, where slave-labor products would compete with those of free labor. For investigation shows that slave labor is used by the Russians mostly on public works (and to some extent in mining) in impossible areas such as Siberia. There is no evidence that slave-labor goods are sold on the international market. Even if they were, it is probable that the much greater efficiency of free labor would enable free labor's products to compete quite favorably with those of slave labor.

The fact remains that slave labor is an institution which has no place in a society which preserves any vestige of respect for human rights. It is a denial of liberty which points up the utter contempt of Communist Russia for the individual and the complete pre-eminence of the State.

This attitude is paralleled to a lesser degree in Russian treatment of labor as a whole. And the treatment of labor is merely a reflection of the overall Soviet program: a program which, in subjecting all individuals to the rigors of the planned Communistic economy, has cast by the wayside the very freedom of the worker that it so loudly espouses.

# ANOTHER PARODY ON ELECTIONS

ON FEBRUARY 6, 1949, the Soviet-subjected Estonian people paraded once more past the ballot boxes—for the fourth time in four years. This time the “toiling masses” expressed their will at the “election of people’s judges and deputy judges” as the propaganda for the “elections,” which preceded them for about three months, so euphemistically had it. The “elections” were not confined to Estonia, they were a link in a chain embracing all the constituent republics and autonomous regions of the USSR. As always, they did not take place simultaneously over the whole of the Union, but were carried through from December to March, much individual attention being devoted to every part of the country in its turn.

According to Soviet apologists, “Soviet jurisdiction is the most democratic in the world” (what else could be expected!), as all the courts “are elected by the people either directly or through representatives.”

The toiling masses elect the people’s judges (the lowest step of the judiciary ladder); the circuit, district and regional (krai) courts are elected by the Soviets of the working people in these parts, the high courts of the constituent republics are elected by the Chambers of these republics and the Supreme Court of the USSR is elected by the Supreme Soviet. This is the law, which does not fail to mention that any citizen, whether male or female, who has filled 23 years, may be elected to sit as judge in any of these courts.

Of course, this law does not say a word on the most important tribunals in the USSR, the police and MVD courts, which pass their verdicts in the absence of the defendant, never giving him a chance to plead his cause. They judge him on the basis of material collected in course of time or of “confessions” extorted after arrest. These courts deal with all the cases which can somehow be qualified as political and never come up for public trial, as public political trials are staged only rarely, for considerations of home or foreign policy.

The “election” of judges takes place in the same time-honored manner, known from all other “elections” in the USSR. The candidates are nominated by the Communist Party and a certain amount of care is taken that no person without any juridical knowledge whatever gets elected. “Courses in jurisdiction,” lasting 6-8 months, for the prospective candidates are arranged prior to the elections. There is only one candidate for every available post and the public has no possibility to advance any additional candidates. The juridical councillor of Soviet Estonia’s Supreme Soviet said the following on this one-candidate-system over the Tallinn Radio on January 13: “Both Communists and non-party candidates will come up for election. This expresses the political and moral unity of our people, the close and indissoluble ties between the Party and the people and the rallying of the toiling masses around their vanguard and leader, the Communist Party. That is why the toiling masses have nominated only one candidate to every post.” In the Western sense these are no elec-

tions at all but a peculiar ritual whereby the people are forced to sanction the decisions of the Communist Party.

It remains to point out why the authorities attribute such an importance to these “elections,” flooding the country with propaganda for months, if they actually have no significance whatever. Although the results of the ballot are known beforehand, it, nevertheless, presents a good opportunity to check on the submissiveness and reliability of the population. Participation in the elections indicates the popular attitude to the regime in a given district. Actual participation need not by any means coincide with the official figure subsequently published, which is seldom lower than 99 per cent. The official report is ready before ballot day but the authorities keep a watchful eye on the voters all the same, carefully noting those who fulfil their “civic duty” and those who do not. Abstainers are put on black lists and rigorously watched by the MVD on the chance that they may be opponents to the regime. They must have been numerous in Estonia at the recent elections for the percentage of participation there is given as 99.38 only—the lowest in the whole USSR.

At the same time the “elections” offer a welcome chance to burden the working population with new and onerous duties. Writes the RAHVA HAAL of December 4, 1948, in a leading article on “The Elections of the People’s Judges”:

“During the preparations to the election of people’s judges the great victories of post-war reconstruction gained by the Soviet peoples, including the Estonian people, under the leadership of the party of Lenin and Stalin, must be properly explained to the toiling masses. A properly organized work of enlightenment must call forth in the masses a new enthusiasm for Socialist competitions, a growth of professional and political activity in honor of the election of people’s judges.”

Thus the “elections” are turned into an important instrument for the realization of economic aims. This is nothing unusual as in the Soviet Union every event and undertaking, in addition to its direct mission, serves to further the interests of Communism in one way or another. It is therefore fully in accordance with the official doctrine, when the abovementioned Councillor of Soviet Estonia’s Supreme Soviet, Erkki Silvet, says in his speech: “The Soviet court is not an organ whose sole duty it is to prosecute offenders against the law and to sentence criminals to penalties they have deserved. Its educational mission and importance is likewise great. The Soviet courts educate their citizens in the spirit of fidelity to the fatherland and the great cause of Socialism. They educate them to a strict and unwavering respect of the law, concern for Socialist property, attention to labor discipline, doing their duty towards the State and esteem for the rules of Socialist society.”

Is any more proof needed to show the rightlessness of the individual in the USSR?

*(Newsletter from behind The Iron Curtain)*

# FRYDRYSIAK - A CLASSIC OF PORTRAIT PAINTING

THE ART of Bernard Frydrysiak has its origin in the tradition of the great masters of the Renaissance, in his love for the interplay of light and shade, in his mastery of painting technique.

Still young—he was born in 1908—Frydrysiak has already an outstanding record of achievements. A graduate of the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts, a pupil of professors Mieczysław Kotarbiński and Tadeusz Pruszkowski, Frydrysiak joined the famous St. Luke's Brotherhood in Warsaw.

This was a group of young painters who organized themselves on the model of medieval painting workshops and studied the great masters, their technique of paint and their way of solving problems of construction and plastic. This group soon acquired fame throughout Poland and later also in Europe.

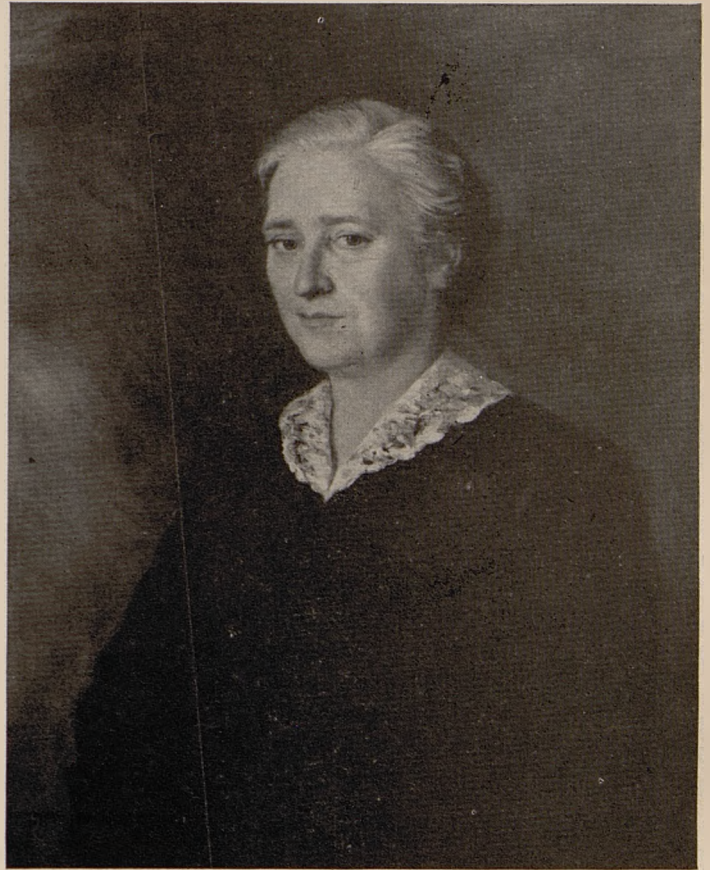
In the United States St. Luke's Brotherhood exhibited in the Polish Pavilion at the World's Fair in New York seven pictures from a cycle of Polish history painted collectively. This was a technique quite unknown among contemporary painters and consisted in the fact that individual painters executed certain fragments of the picture as e. g. the leading figures, historical costumes, the background, etc. This technique resulted in pictures so completely harmonized that they appeared to be the work of one artist and not of a whole group. Frydrysiak took an active part in painting this cycle for the World's Fair.

In addition to the group work in St. Luke's Brotherhood Frydrysiak worked individually as an easel painter. In a short time he won recognition and popularity in the Polish artistic world. Proofs of this were the silver and bronze medals awarded to Frydrysiak by the Society for the Advancement of Fine Arts in Warsaw for genre paintings. In 1938 the National Culture Fund awarded him a prize for the landscape "The Forge" exhibited in the Institute for the Propagation of Art.

In the prewar years Frydrysiak's paintings were exhibited at international showings in England, Switzerland, Finland, Bulgaria and the Netherlands, and were to be found among government and private collections. The artist was at the height of his development.

The outbreak of the war in 1939 stopped Frydrysiak's artistic work only for a short time. In the extremely difficult circumstances of the German occupation, in constant fear for his safety, hungry and cold he continued his painting activities. The obtaining of canvas for a picture, the acquisition of paints was quite a feat. Frydrysiak did not even for a moment succumb to the dire reality and continued to live in the inner world created by himself, painting ceaselessly all the time. Occupied Warsaw remembers Frydrysiak's paintings exhibited in shop windows and private apartments. People admired his creative élan which permitted him to improve in such thankless conditions.

The rising of the population of Warsaw against the Germans in 1944 destroyed the city and destroyed its



MRS. FRANK JANUSZEWSKI, Detroit, Mich., a portrait in oil by  
Bernard T. FRYDRYSIAK

people. Frydrysiak lost all his collections and his pictures were burned in the raging fires. He barely escaped with his life from the barbarism of the German executioners. Hiding from the Germans he again stubbornly continued to paint.

Several years passed and Frydrysiak has come to the United States. Obviously his sole aim is painting, easel painting, pure, without any compromises. He admires the magnificent collections of paintings in the American museums. He studies the secrets of great art and works perseveringly for continuous self-improvement.

In the United States Frydrysiak painted several new portraits. They are classic in the mastery of technique, the solution of the chiaroscuro, and at the same time modern in taking into consideration the psychological characteristics of the portrayed person. They are distinguished by the dignified simplicity typical of the masters of the Renaissance. There is in them also the gravity of a man who lived through the World War in Warsaw, the city which had experienced this war in a most cruel manner.

In the United States Frydrysiak has great prospects. He is not concerned with marketing successes. He only wishes to achieve perfection as a painter. This is a difficult but thankful task and one that leads to the heights of artistic fulfilment.

—SLC—

# SOUR FRUITS OF YALTA

*By William Henry Chamberlin*  
*Associate Editor of The New Leader*

YALTA, the Crimean resort where the so-called Big Three, Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill, met to remake the map of the postwar world, is famous in normal times for its grapes, apples and other fruits. But the diplomatic fruits of this conference were sour and bitter for the American people. Yalta represented the high-water mark in a policy of trying to appease the Soviet dictatorship which was both morally wrong and politically stupid.

This policy was morally wrong because it involved the sacrifice of faithful allies, Poland and China, and the abandonment of the just war aims which were set forth in the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. It was politically stupid because an aggressive dictator like Stalin cannot be appeased, any more than Hitler could be appeased. We did not win Stalin's friendship by our tactics at Yalta. We only won his contempt, his assurance that he could commit any act of lawless violence with impunity.

The parallel between the Munich conference of September 1938 and the Yalta meeting in February, 1945 is appallingly close. Any differences between the two are to the disadvantage of Yalta.

Stalin at Yalta was the complete equivalent of Hitler at Munich. Roosevelt and Churchill played the ignoble roles of Daladier and Chamberlin at the earlier conference. Poland was the victim of Yalta, as Czechoslovakia was the victim of Munich. There were two factors that made the Yalta betrayal less excusable than the yielding to Hitler's demands at Munich.

First, there had been the previous experience which should have proved the futility of appeasement. Second, there was a bond of common suffering and sacrifice between Poland and the western powers which did not exist between Czechoslovakia, France and Britain.

The war had been started on the issue of Poland's independence and territorial integrity. Britain had given a solemn guaranty of both. One wonders what the world reaction and the Polish reaction would have been if the British government, in March, 1939, had specified that, while guarantying Poland against German aggression, it was offering no assurance that Russia would not seize eastern provinces of Poland, amounting to almost one half of the national territory.

The United States was morally bound to uphold Poland's territorial integrity because of its repeated expression of devotion to the principles of the Atlantic Charter. These principles had been written into several international statements, and both the Soviet and the British government had subscribed to them several times. The first three clauses of the Atlantic Charter are worth recalling. They read as follows.

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that

do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

The procedure at Yalta was a cynical negation of these sound principles of international law and morals from beginning to end. Poland was threatened not as an ally but as a conquered power, without the right to be consulted about its own fate. The conferees at Yalta discussed the most vital questions of Poland's national existence, the composition of its government and the location of its frontiers, without the participation of a single person qualified to speak for the Polish people.

The upshot of these deliberations was to tear away from Poland almost half of its territory, including vital sources of oil and foodstuffs and such historic Polish cities as Wilno and Lwow without any pretense of a fair plebiscite. When the Soviet Union occupied eastern Poland, in criminal agreement with Hitler, in the autumn of 1939, a completely farcical so-called vote was taken without any safeguards for secrecy of the ballot or freedom of speech and press. It took place in an atmosphere of error and mass deportations of Poles to slave labor in Russia. No fairminded observer could regard this as a serious consultation of the will of the people in eastern Poland. Yet without any further ceremony eastern Poland was handed over to the Soviet Union.

The legitimate representative government of Poland which existed in London, which was recognized by the Polish troops fighting on many fronts and by the underground patriots in Poland was thrown over without a word of explanation. The made-in-Moscow communist-dominated provisional government, set up in Poland by the bayonets of the Red Army, was granted preliminary international recognition, with the face-saving provision, which proved worthless in practice, that it should be enlarged by the inclusion of Poles abroad and in Poland.

The treatment of Poland at Yalta was one of the most cynical deals recorded in the history of power politics. It was truly brazen hypocrisy to assert, as the participants in the conference did assert, that they were acting according to the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

Poland was not the only ally wronged at Yalta. Serious, although not such mortal injury was inflicted upon the territorial integrity and national interests of China. Roosevelt bribed Stalin, at China's expense and without China's knowledge, to do something which was against America's best interests: to take part in the Far Eastern war. Japan was already on its last legs militarily. Even without the invention of the atomic bomb Japan could have been blockaded and bombed into surrender.

By entering the war a few days before Japan's surrender the Soviet Union staked out footholds in Manchuria and Korea which are profoundly detrimental to the American interest in maintaining the open door and self determination for the peoples of China and Korea. Under the terms of the Yalta secret deal the Soviet Government was to receive, as the price of its entrance into the war against Japan, a joint share in the operation of the Manchurian railway system, a naval base at Port Arthur, at the southern tip of the Manchurian peninsula and a preferential position in the chief Manchurian port, Dairen.

The Soviet Government, on its side, was supposed to recognize and support only the legal Chinese government. But, as always, when it was given an inch it took a yard. It kept the Chinese nationalist forces out of Dairen. It used its control of the Manchurian railways to enable large communist forces to move into that strategic province. It only withdrew its own troops (apart from those still maintained in Port Arthur and Dairen) after it had supplied the incoming Chinese communists with vast quantities of Japanese arms and after it had looted all the more valuable Manchurian factory equipment.

During recent weeks the visible threat of a China ruled by communists who are themselves completely subordinate to Moscow has shocked and alarmed American public opinion. This threat would probably never have arisen if it had not been for the fatally mistaken decision at Yalta to induce the Soviet Union to move into Manchuria and thereby lay the foundation for communist rule in that province.

In the same way the crisis in Berlin, with its threat of war, would never have arisen if a government friendly to America and to the West had been maintained in Poland, if there had been no surrender to Stalin at Yalta. As usually happens what was wrong and indefensible morally has proved highly inexpedient politically.

No defense of Yalta on moral grounds is possible. There is sometimes an attempt to defend this ill fated agreement on grounds of military necessity. We were so dependent on Stalin, so this argument runs, that we had to sign on the dotted line as the Soviet dictator prescribed. These last ditch defenders of Yalta sometimes ask what critics of the agreement would have done had the responsibility for action been theirs.

The answer to this question is not so difficult as is sometimes presumed. For it is a false reading of the wartime military and political situation to consider that America and Britain needed Russia more than Russia needed the western powers. The Soviet armies rolled westward with the aid of American trucks, American telephone lines, with a substantial part of their rations provided from this country.

The fear that Stalin might make a separate peace with Hitler could have been safely ruled out. The Soviet dictator would not have been likely to make a second deal with Hitler which might have ended in a new Nazi attack on war ravaged Russia.

The United States could and should have stood firmly

for the Atlantic Charter, which Stalin had repeatedly pledged himself to observe. It could and should have rejected deals that were in flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter. Even after America and Great Britain had recognized the Soviet stooge government in Warsaw there was a long period of guerrilla warfare, carried on by Polish underground patriots.

Had the United States and British governments, before Yalta and at Yalta, pursued an inflexible policy of refusing to admit any change in the legitimate Polish eastern frontier or the validity of any government not freely chosen by the Polish people, Stalin would probably have yielded. It is easy to imagine what a tremendous advantage a friendly Polish government would have created for the United States in the present European crisis.

Suppose Stalin had not yielded, had occupied Poland by the military force of the Red Army and installed his Red Quislings in power. Without the acquiescence of the western nations the naked lawlessness of such action would have been clear to the Polish people and to the public opinion of the entire civilized world. Resistance in Poland would have been fiercer and more prolonged. The inevitable showdown between eastern totalitarian barbarism and western Christian civilization would have taken place on an issue so plain that there could be no question as to which side right was on.

Yalta was a moral crime and a grave political blunder. There is only one way to atone for the crime, to repair the blunder. This is to declare Yalta invalid, so far as the United States is concerned. The Soviet government has broken its Yalta engagements a score of times and more. A contract violated by one partner is not binding on another. Let us formally denounce Yalta and announce that we will accept nothing short of the Atlantic Charter, which means full restoration of Poland within its legitimate frontiers, as a basis of European peace settlement.

"JUSTICE FOR POLAND" Radio Program—sponsored by the Western Massachusetts Branch of the Polish American Congress.

## **The POLISH REVIEW**

AND EAST EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Published by the Polish Review, Inc.

ARTHUR BLISS LANE, *President, Board of Sponsors*

STANISLAW L. CENTKIEWICZ, *Editor*

### *Editorial Advisory Board*

ANN SU CARDWELL, EUGENE LYONS

516 Fifth Avenue New York 18, New York  
Telephone: VAnderbilt 6-2168

### *Committee of Friends*

Rev. Felix F. Burant, Mrs. George H. Burr, Ignatius Nurkiewicz,  
Adam Lyczak.

Annual Subscription Five Dollars  
Single Copy Twenty-five Cents

## !SPECIAL OFFER!

**SIX BOOKS ORIGINALLY PRICED AT \$16.00**

**NOW REDUCED TO \$5.00**

- I. DEFEAT IN VICTORY  
by Ambassador Jan Ciechanowski.....\$3.50
- II. RED STAR OVER POLAND by Edward S. Kerstein 2.50
- III. G. FOR GENEVIEVE by Lt. J. M. Herbert..... 3.00
- IV. POLAND'S FREEDOM OF THE SEA  
by Henryk Baginski ..... 2.50
- V. BLESSED ARE THE MEEK by Sophie Kossak.  
Book of the Month Club..... 3.00
- VI. POLISH ARCHITECTURE (Old and New)  
by R. Soltynski ..... 1.50

*Books that will enhance your library on subjects of  
everlasting interest and artistic beauty.*

*Take advantage of this special offer now as the stock  
available is limited.*

Order from

**The POLISH REVIEW**

516 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

Tel. VA 6-2168

UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY!—OUT OF PRINT EDITION!

## MODERN WARFARE

**By GEN. WLAD. SIKORSKI**

with a note by General George C. Marshall

Pp. XVIII+288 Price \$3.50

**NOW ONLY \$1.50 ONLY!**

**Order from: The POLISH REVIEW**

**516 Fifth Avenue — New York 18, N. Y.**

POLISH FURRIER

## PETER'S FURS

*Custom Made and Ready to Wear Furs  
Store Your Furs in Our Cold Storage Vaults  
Peter Banowicz, Prop.*

Phone ELdorado 5-2453

49 WEST 57th STREET  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

**ADAM DLUZNIEWSKI, President**

## COOK & DUNN PAINT CORPORATION

SAINT FRANCIS STREET

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

Tel. SOuth 8-7347

M. WEGLICKI

## White Eagle Market, Inc.

*Prime Meat, Poultry and Delicatessen  
Polish Bolognas Our Specialty*

628 FIFTH AVENUE

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

JOHN S. WINIALSKI

## NEWTON ROBERTSON BAKERY

750 WETHERSFIELD AVENUE

HARTFORD 6, CONNECTICUT